1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths.

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his necessities and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he insisted was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

[203 624 623] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer
682 is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 680 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.

[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

§18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
● [682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 648 everything again in detail and that as soon as the time for the trial came, I would be freed. When I was through, they took me back and locked me up again, and the other man was taken out. When he returned, he had of course learned what I had done. He was very quiet. Then I said, "Well, you said you were [682] asked to kill him and you also said that they, the brothers of the murdered man, asked others to kill him. If that is so, you did it because you were asked to do so, and you are not to blame. If we can find other witnesses to this fact, we will surely get out." "Indeed, I spoke about the matter because they had locked us up alone. I did not like it. The boys were so boisterous that I thought the others ought to be in jail, too. That is what I was thinking of when I spoke to the officers. Soon they will bring these others here, too, and when we are all here together, it will not be so lonesome." Peter was glad of it. Soon the other two were brought, and the four of us made quite a good deal of noise talking.

[P. 162]

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.